

THE SINGERS OF THE CENTRAL CHOIRS OF THE RUSSIAN STATE OF 16TH—17TH CENTURIES AS THE “SLUZHILYE LYUDI” OF THE TSAR’S AND THE PATRIARCH’S COURTS

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There were two powerful, closely interconnected centres of professional musical art in Moscow of the 16th—17th century. They combined the best creative powers of the country: at the tsar’s court and at the court of the metropolitan (since 1589 — the patriarch) of Moscow and all Russia. Those centres were accumulating the traditions of professional “Moscow chanting” while their choirs were actively creating them. According to the author, the totality of the installed data (activities, principles of recruitment, types of salary and salary system, legal status) indicated that the tsar’s and patriarch’s choristers were included in the category of “sluzhilye lyudi” (service class people). Retiring from the choir, they often entered or transferred to such positions or ranks in the state apparatus, such as *duma* or department *diaki*, boyar’s children, etc.

Keywords: Moscow state, service class people, tsar’s singing *diaki*, patriarch’s singers, social identification.

The tsar’s and the patriarchal choirs in Moscow had already had a long history by the 16th century. The tsar’s one was originated from the choir of the grand duke court. Most likely, the choir of Moscow grand dukes was formed due to the fact that they considered themselves the rulers of all Russian lands. The creation of proper grand duke court, establishment of court ceremonial and erection of court churches were also of great importance here. All this is indicative of Ivan Kalita’s period of reign (1325—1340). One of the major events of that period was the relocation of the Metropolitan of Russia residence from Vladimir to Moscow. There, in the major spiritual centre of Russia from that day on, the Metropolitan court and the Assumption Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin were erected (1327). In the following centuries they served as the place where the Metropolitan choir chanters carried out their duties. During Kalita’s reign the Archangel Cathedral was erected, as well as the new court one — Spas-na-Boru Church, which replaced John the Baptist old church at the duke court, where in all likelihood the grand duke chanters sang.

However, the metropolitan choir, as compared to the Moscow Grand Duke one or the tsar’s choir, was, most likely, much older. One can hardly imagine that the metropolitan divine service in Ancient Russia was done without church chants. It is obvious that the creation of this choir ascends to the period of Russian metropolitanate establishment (988). After the establishment of the patriarchy in 1589 it was called *patriarchal*. The Russian scholar V. M. Metallov considered the date of patriarchy establishment in Russia to be the time of the patriarchal choir beginning [14, p. 1—2]. But at that time only the name of the choir was changed. The All-Russian metropolitanate, without doubt, had its own choir. The sources also confirm this fact: in the ceremony of bishops enthronement of 1456 it is stated that the metropolitan’s chanters sang “some chants”, “Mnoga leta” (expression of wishes for long life) and others [2, p. 470, 473]; on July, 7, 1543 Filipp Fedoseev, Protopopov’s son, who was a “metropolitan chanter”, contributed a book to the Chudov Monastery [16, p. 87]. The Metropolitan times brought us few names of chant-

ers and brief information about their activities. That is why further on we shall dwell upon the patriarchal period of that choir mainly.

The structure of the major choirs of Russia represented unique bodies of hierarchical arrangement, which were divided into specific subdivisions — *stanitsas* (small vocal groups). The status, salary and functions of a chanter were determined by the *stanitsa* he was singing in, and often by the place within a *stanitsa* as well.

The only precise information about the arrangement and number of chanters of the tsar’s choir in the 16th century available today is the information about the choir of Tsar Ivan IV’s reign period. According to the staff list dated by March 20, 1573, the choir consisted of five *stanitsas*: the 1st and the 5th *stanitsas* consisted of 5 people each, the others — 4 people each. Besides, there were 5 “*bezstanichnye*” (not belonging to any *stanitsa*), reserve chanters. Thus, the whole choir of Ivan the Terrible in 1573 consisted of 27 chanters (“singing *diaki*”) [3, p. 35—37].

The tsar’s Treasury book of charges (1584—1585) specifies the names of the tsar’s choir chanters from only two *stanitsas*, though “minor” ones [9, p. 201; 26, № 198, fol. 64, 67]. This information is supplemented by monastic documents. In December 1585, on Christmas, the Chudov Monastery welcomed (besides the above mentioned chanters) the “*diaki*” of the four major *stanitsas* who came there to glorify Christ. Consequently, the choir of Tsar Feodor Ivanovich consisted of approximately 30 chanters. During their stay in Moscow the Fathers Superior of the Dorogobuzh Boldin monastery were giving money gifts to four (1598) or five (1600) tsar’s *stanitsas*; the monastery “heads” (Fathers Superior, cellarers, treasurers) of the Joseph Volokolamsk Monastery were giving money to the same number of the Tsar’s choir *stanitsas* in 1605—1608 [22, № 273, fol. 121; 27, № 15, fol. 54; № 19, fol. 158; 31, v. 37, p. 135, 177].

The following information, which allows to disclose the structure and members of the tsar’s choir to the fullest extent possible, dates back to the period of recovery of the state apparatus and palace subdivisions after the Time of Troubles. In 1613—1626 the number of ma-

major stanitsas remained unchanged — 3 (with 4—5 people each), but the number of reserve chanters was rising due to “young” chanters recruiting. It should be noted that the 1st and 2nd stanitsas of “singing diaki” were specified in the documents as “bolshaya” (large), the 2nd one was often called “drugaya” (the other). Later on, the years 1627 and 1628 we saw the staff growth tendency in major stanitsas (up to 5—6). Besides, reserve chanters, who sometimes worked “without a salary” [25, № 8785, fol. 5, 6; № 13449, fol. 9, 18; 26, № 199, fol. 425; № 279, fol. 231, 242; № 283, fol. 197; etc.], were also retained. The period of 1672—73 witnessed the creation of two new stanitsas. They were formed out of young chanters from Novgorod. At the same time the 1st stanitsa, where together with the senior chorister there were up to three more chanters, included three “krestovye diaki” (who finally merged with chanters in 1677) [26, № 330, fol. 93—94; № 331, fol. 85; etc.; 31, v. 23, p. 104, 200 etc.]. In mid 1670-s the recruiting of “vspevak” began. These were performers of polyphonic (partes) chants, but at that time they were not included into the staff and received individual salaries¹.

Dwelling upon the structure of the court choir one should bear in mind that the earliest documents of the 17th century, which we have at our disposal today (since 1613), give evidences of professional subdivision of singers within stanitsas. It was based on vocal characteristics, voice timbre of chanters, as well as requirements to the performance of polyphonic, “line” chants. The sources name the following singing specializations of the “diaki”: *vershnik*, *demestvennik*, *putnik*, *nizhnik*. The fifth chanter in stanitsa was usually the second *putnik*. In the 30-s one of them was even called “bolshoi” (major), his companion — “drugoi” (the other) [26, № 199, fol. 425; № 203, fol. 106; № 291, fol. 109; etc.].² Since the 1650-s this composition became permanent for the 1st and 2nd stanitsas [26, № 313, fol. 216; № 315, fol. 73; etc.]. In the 1670-s there could be two *vershniks* or *demestvenniks* and up to three *putniks* in one stanitsa [26, № 324, fol. 70; № 325, fol. 96; etc.].

Besides chanters, the tsar’s court also had the so-called “krestovye diaki”. Quite often they were composed of the best chanters but differed in their official duties. The court staff list of 1573 included 9 such “diaki” [3, p. 35]. In the book of charges of the Tsar’s Kazenny prikaz (Treasury) of 1584—85 we have found the names of three “tsar’s” and two “tsaritsa’s” krestovye diaki [9, p. 191, 194, 203 etc.], but this information was incomplete. The sources of the first quarter of the 17th century mention no more than 6—8 tsar’s “diaki”. In 1624—1625 their staff was supplemented by 4 people, but after Tsar Mikhail’s wedding in 1626 the same number of diaki were transferred to the staff of Tsaritsa Evdokia Lukianovna [25, № 1251, fol. 1; 26, № 280, fol. 287; № 282, fol. 187]. Later on the “krestovye diaki” staff was formed for other members of the Tsar’s family (up to 6 people). During the second half of

the 17th century the number of the Tsaritsa’s “krestovye diaki” considerably increased, forming the real Terem choir (up to 24 people). At the same time the number of the Tsar’s “krestovye diaki” was gradually decreasing until 1677, when the remaining three became members of the 1st stanitsa of singing diaki [26, № 330, fol. 93—94; № 331, fol. 85; etc.].³

The most significant changes in the organization of the tsar’s singing and krestovye diaki took place in the late 70-s — early 80-s of the 17th century. During the last years of Tsar Feodor Alekseevich’s reign the singing diaki started to fall into two choirs. The first one consisted of masters of the Old Russian chant, who were members of 1 to 3 stanitsas. Fourteen people headed by Peter Pokrovets sang in the Spassky (Saviour) Cathedral (“u velikogo gosudarya v Verkhu”), forming the Tsar’s choir proper. The second choir was formed from other, minor staff chanters and those who had not been previously specified in staff lists. Together there were 28—29 “partesniks” (performers of polyphonic chant) headed by Osip Sedoy. They sang at the court church of Evdokia (“u gosudarya na Seniakh”), forming a joint choir for the members of the Tsar’s family (tsaritsas, tsareviches, tsarevnas). However the name of this or that singing diak could be seen in the staff lists of different choirs (for example, Vladimir Golutvinets, Maksim Vasiliev). It only proves that the singer possessed both the skill of the old Znamenny chant and the new polyphonic one. The first direct evidences of singing diaki division into “spasskie” (those of the Saviour Cathedral choir) and “evdokeinskie” (those of the Evdokia choir) could be traced in the documents of 1679—80 [25, № 18454, fol. 2, 3; № 18497, fol. 5—8; etc.], but they are likely to have already existed before. In 1680—81 four singers from the staff of both choirs were picked out for the new court church of Ioann Belogradsky [25, № 19126, fol. 13]. It is obvious that the division of the Tsar’s choir described above was connected both with the existence of different styles of chant (Znamenny and polyphonic Partesny chant) and with the further development of the tendency to form a choir for each member of the Tsar’s family. During that period the amount of krestovye diaki was also rising. The sources confirm that Tsaritsa Agafia Semenovna (Tsar Feodor’s first wife) employed 8 singing diaki. Tsaritsa Natalia Kirillovna (Tsar Aleksey Mikhailovich’s wife) had 28 chanters (together with the singing diaki of other members of the Tsar family) [26, № 332, fol. 79, 140, 146 etc.].

In 1681—1683 the principle of division of the Tsar’s choir into court churches was still preserved. The maximum number of “spasskie” chanters at that time reached 18. The singing diaki, formerly known as “evdokeinskie”, in the new place of service at the Voskresenie (Resurrection of Christ) and John the Baptist Cathedrals got the new name — “voskresenskie and predtechevskie”. The number of the latter amounted to 58, but among them there were 7 young “vspevak”, who were still in the process of learning, and 17 singing diaki, who were picked out for singing at the Elijah the Prophet Church, “that is at the court of

¹ On the changes in the tsar’s choir until the end of the 1670s. see also: 17, p. 10, tabl.1.

² Particular preference was given to “nizhniki” (low voices). They most often were indicated in the beginning of list of stanitsa, and in the early 1630s. even two stanitsas of young diaki- nizhniki were recruited [25, № 1943, fol. 2; № 1649, fol. 6].

³ On the changes in the staff of the krestovye diaki until the end of the 1670s. see: 17, p. 10, tabl. 2.

the great Tsar” (25, № 20517, fol. 16—35; № 21150, fol. 5, 7). Interestingly enough, the staff lists of the tsar’s singers for receiving salaries included maximum 65—67 people [26, № 122, fol. 14—23, 111; № 124, fol. 22—31]. Apparently, a part of chanters were not on the staff. *Krestovye diaki* at that time were distributed in the following way: *Tsaritsas* Natalia Kirillovna and *Marfa Matveevna* (Tsar Feodor’s second wife) employed maximum 8—9 singing *diaki*, “elder” *Tsarevnyas* (Tsar’s aunts) — 8, “younger” *Tsarevnyas* (Tsar’s sisters) — 9, *Tsarevich Ivan Alekseevich* — 8—12. In the staff lists all of them were mentioned as *Tsaritsas’ krestovye diaki*. Their number in such cases, including a senior choir singer, did not exceed 42 men [25, № 20347, fol. 1—16; № 20950, fol. 5—14; etc.].

Further reorganization of the tsar’s choir was going on during the first years of joint reign of Tsars Peter Alekseevich and Ivan Alekseevich (since 1682). Since around 1683 all chanters (over 60 people) were subdivided in the following way. The chanters led by the senior choir singer Feodor Chekalovsky were called “*partesniki*”, they formed Tsar Ivan’s choir and sang at the *Voskresensky Sobor* (the Resurrection Cathedral). The *diaki* led by the senior choir singer Peter Pokrovets were called “*senior chanters*”. They formed Tsar Peter’s choir and sang at the *Spasskiy* (Saviour) Cathedral. Finally, there was one more choir of “*polyphonic chant*” (*partes*), led by Osip Sedoy. Up to 1686 its singers were called “*krestovye chanters of all chambers*” [26, № 111, fol. 161; № 115, fol. 163—164; etc.]. It only proves the fact that just like in earlier times Osip Sedoy’s choir was intended to sing for the members of the tsar’s family. At that period all singers were included in the staff list together, sometimes according to their belonging to one of the seven *stanitsas*: first came the chanters of the first *stanitsas* of choirs, then — the second *stanitsas*, etc. [25, № 25233, fol. 5—6; 26, № 125, fol. 28—45; № 134, fol. 52—75; № 544, fol. 133, 135—135; etc.]. The number of *tsaritsas’* and *tsarevnyas’ krestovye diaki* in the middle of the 1680-s reached 57—60 people. They were usually registered in the staff of *Tsaritsas Natalia* and *Marfa* to receive salaries [26, № 544, fol. 131—132; № 545, fol. 57—66]. The second half of the 1680-s marked the rearrangement among singing *diaki* and *krestovye diaki*. The place of one general choir “of all chambers” of *tsaritsas* and *tsarevnyas* was taken by separate choirs of *krestovye diaki* headed by their senior choir singers [26, № 122, fol. 167; № 127, fol. 184; № 129, fol. 182—183]¹.

Since 1689 according to the new allocation the staff of each court choir without any division into *stanitsas* began to be written separately under the names of the Tsar’s family members [26, № 132, fol. 1—17, 52—92]. In the 1690-s among the major choirs there were Tsar Ivan’s choir (24—20 singing *diaki*)² and Tsar Peter’s choir (21—26), as well as their sisters *Evdokia’s* (19—17) and *Natalia’s* choirs (8—15). Other Tsar’s choirs (*Praskovia Fedorovna’s* and *Marfa Matveevna’s* ones, the common choir of *Tsarevnyas Anna Mikhailovna* and *Tatiana Mikhailovna*) included maximum 11—12 people. Since 1699 under Tsar Peter’s decree the singing

diaki of the late Tsar Ivan were dismissed; the number of singing *diaki* in all other choirs (except for the Tsar’s choir) — was limited to 12 people [13, p. 435—441].

Now let us pass over to the structure and size of the patriarchal choir. As far back as in February 1539, in the election ceremony record of the All-Russian Metropolitan *Ioasaf*, it was described how “*Metropolitan chanters of both stanitsas*” acted and what they sang. There were also mentioned “*podiaki*” [2, p. 158—160]. The documentary description of the events connected with the enthronement of the first Patriarch of all Russia *Iov* (January, 1589) also mentions two *stanitsas* of the patriarchal singing *diaki* — “*bolshaya*” (major) and “*drugaya*” (the other), who at that time performed “*slavniki*” (songs of praise) during welcome receptions and “*selected sticheras*”. It is stated there that after the *diaki* all *podiaki* were ordered by “to sing according to their ranks” [31, v. 2, p. 319—323]. Unfortunately, the source does not specify the number of *podiaki stanitsas*, but it states that the patriarchal choir, like the metropolitan one before, consisted of chanters of two categories — *diaki* and *podiaki*.

The complete destruction of the metropolitan-patriarchal “*Prikaz*” (Department) in the Moscow fire of 1626 forces us to reconstruct the organization and composition of the earlier period of choir on the basis of the Tsar’s Treasury Department documents and monastery records. On Christmas, 1585—1586, three *stanitsas* of the Russian metropolitan choir and three “*adolescents*”, i.e. the youngest *podiaki* of the same choir who played the role in “*Peschnoe deystvo*” (rite “*Burning fiery furnace*”), came to the *Chudov Monastery* to glorify the Lord. In 1605—1607 the *St. Joseph Volokolamsk Monastery’s* cellarer and treasurer gave glorified money to seven *stanitsas* of patriarchal chanters, and the following year — to four *stanitsas* [22, № 273, fol. 121—122; 27, № 15, fol. 54; № 16, fol. 118—119; № 19, fol. 158]. Thus, the most complete sources state that in the very beginning of the 17th century the patriarchal choir was already divided into seven *stanitsas*.

The Tsar’s Treasury books of charges (since 1614) disclose the composition of two *stanitsas* of *diaki* — “*major*”, or the 1st one (5 men), and “*the other*”, or the 2nd one (4—5 men). Four *stanitsas* composed of *podiaki* with 5 men each were also mentioned. In one of the years (1618/19) there was even mentioned a group of “*elder*” *podiaki*, who held intermediate positions between *diaki* and *podiaki* [26, № 203, fol. 191; № 204, fol. 723, 777; etc.]. The left documents of the patriarchal institutions mention that until the 1630-s the first two *stanitsas* of *podiaki* were called “*intermediate*”, the next ones — “*minor*”. Since 1629 the 1st intermediate *stanitsa* was headed by a subdeacon, subsequently getting its name — subdeacon *stanitsa* [23, № 3, fol. 77, 376]. Apparently, it was connected with some changes in the functions of its chanters. Before *Nikon’s* patriarchate there were no significant changes in the structure of the choir. Altogether it consisted of 6 *stanitsas* of singers, who were periodically supplemented by 1—2 *stanitsas* of young *podiaki* [23, № 3, fol. 533—537, 696]³.

¹ Osip Sedoy was dismissed in 1686.

² Tsar Ivan kept 12 *krestovye diaki* also.

³ On the changes in the staff until the middle of the 17th century see also: 17, p. 15, tabl. 3A.

Since Nikon’s patriarchate, to be more exact, since 1653, each of the singers from subdeacon stanitsa started to bear the name “subdeacon”. The stanitsa itself since 1655 began to be registered in the staff list of the choir even before the diaki [23, № 36, fol. 11—12; № 38, fol. 330—331]. Over the last third of the 17th century the number of stanitsas of podiaki rose to eight [23, № 75, fol. 217; № 137, fol. 91—92; № 160, fol. 103, 255 etc.]¹.

It is worth mentioning that in the stanitsas of the patriarchal singing diaki and podiaki, as well as in the tsar’s choir stanitsas, there were singing specializations. The enlistment decrees often gave the following instructions: “to sing putem”, “to sing nizom”, “to sing verkhom”, “to be nizhnikom”, “to be demestvennikom” (put, niz, verkh, demestvo — are designations for the musical parts in the choir) [23, № 15, fol. 7; № 18, fol. 5; № 54, fol. 290; № 89, fol. 14; etc.].

The patriarchal krestovye diaki were usually appointed from the rank of podiaki. Their number, as compared to the tsar’s ones, was insignificant. In the staff lists of the 1620-s there are only two krestovye diaki, who were registered after the whole choir, after the minor stanitsas of podiaki [23, № 1, fol. 186, 388; № 3, fol. 95, 103, 265, 272]. In the 1630-s their number remained unchanged but in the patriarchal court staff lists of service class people they were registered not only before the choir, but also before the elders, tailors and other craftsmen [23, № 8, fol. 3, 292; № 9, fol. 333]. The sources of the following years mention no more than one patriarchal krestovy diak [23, № 12, fol. 5; № 22, fol. 2; № 67, fol. 79; etc.].

The Russian professional musicians of the 16th—17th centuries, who served in Russia’s major choirs, received certain types of annual payments (monetary, bread, cloth etc.). Each of those types and more frequently the position in a choir or stanitsa had a fixed salary. Thus, the full salary of a singer consisted of a system of monetary payments and natural products payments. The salaries were closely connected with obligatory and regular grants (“slavlenoe”, “prichastnoe”, etc.), which were fixed for a chanter at the moment of his enlistment and given out on some special occasions.

We can estimate the system of singing diaki salaries of the 16th century by the staff list of Ivan the Terrible’s choir of 1573. According to the documents of the 17th century, which are preserved almost to the full extent, salaries fixed in the central choirs were extremely stable during a long period of time: some of them underwent no changes in that century. Therefore, we can assume that the system and the amount of salaries of the Tsar’s singing diaki reflected in the staff list of 1573 are also typical of the other periods of the 16th century.

The first one mentioned is the annual monetary payment. It was between 5 and 10 rubles and was given to almost all diaki, except for five singers who additionally performed functions of “nedelschiks” (bailiffs who performed their duties by weeks), which gave them additional income. Instead of annual amount of cloth all diaki got money to the amount of 48 alty n (1,44 rubles).

¹ On the changes in the staff of the second half of the 17th century see also: 17, p. 15, tabl. 3B.

The gradation of the annual bread remuneration was determined inside each stanitsa individually; except those who owned some lands, each of the diaki was assigned an equal amount of quarters (from 12 to 30) of rye and oat. The other types of reward by natural products — salt and meat — except for chanters-landowners, were also given to everyone. Some singers, who got no monetary grants, received 2 rubles of “holiday payment”. Special attention should be paid to the fact that two singing diaki got land payment [3, p. 35—37; 17, p. 19, tabl. 4].

The types of salaries fixed for the tsar’s choir in the 17th century can be traced by means of the sources coming from the second half of the century. Thus, the consolidated budget of 1680—1681, estimated at Tsar Fedor Alekseevich’s request, included general data on annual choir expenditure. It also specifies expenditures on monetary payments and “kormovye” (money on food products or food itself), on giving “slavlenoe” (fee for singing before Christmas), food and drinks, cloth and bread [15, p. 5]. Almost the same types of payments for singing diaki were specified in the consolidated “Ruzhnaya kniga”, written as a report to Tsar Peter in January 1699 and based on the books of charges of various departments according to which this or that payment was given out [13, p. 435; 24, № 96, fol. 1]. This document gives in details the amounts of salaries of singers as well². But it says nothing about the fact that the diaki of the tsar’s choir received complete sets of clothing.

Meantime, during the 17th century occasional grants in the form of separate articles of clothes were transformed into a specific type of payment. In the second half of the 17th century all diaki had it, including those who were not assigned any monetary or other remunerations. Probably, a “walking” garment was given as casual wear: “odnoryadka” (a long coat with very long sleeves), warm and cold “feryazi” (a garment that was ankle length), “kaftan” (coat, at least knee-length), “zipun” (a short, narrow jacket), woolen hat trimmed with sable, “rukavitsy” (mittens), trousers. For escorting the tsar and members of his family during the “trips” the singers were given traveling garment: “doloman” (semi-kaftan decorated with braid) or “kaftan”, “epancha” or “emurluk” (long cloak), mittens, for winter — a fur coat. “Prihodnoe” or “prihozhee” garments were given to diaki, apparently, to be worn when on duty; it included: two “outwear” kaftans, two “underwear” kaftans, a woolen hat with sable, mittens, trousers — all to the amount of 20,8 rubles. Besides casual garments, singers were provided with holiday clothes, or “dobroe” (good) garment: “odnoriadka”, “feryazi”, “kaftan”, a velvet hat trimmed with sable. Such set of garment sometimes cost the Treasury 33,8 rubles [25, № 6267, fol. 9; № 6650, fol. 8; № 8785, fol. 1—7; № 13449, fol. 11—12; № 17178, fol. 1—2; № 20517, fol. 2, 7, 11; etc.]³.

Apart from the mentioned grants from the tsar, singing diaki got patriarchal Christmas “slavlenoe” as

² Salaries are also indicated in the choir of Tsar Ivan, but with his death in the same year the choir was abolished. See also: 17, p. 21, tabl. 5.

³ Often, the Treasury Department gave not a ready-made dress, but “goods” and money for sewing it [ex.: 25, № 24473, fol. 1; № 24764, fol. 1].

an obligatory reward. The Kazenny Prikaz (Treasury) documents (since 1626) which were preserved almost in full give evidence that the amount of “slavlenoe” did not change until the end of the 1670-s: the 1st and the 2nd stanitsas were given 2 rubles each, the 3rd and the 4th — poltina (half ruble) each, the rest — 10 altyn each (0,3 rubles) [23, № 1, fol. 184—185; № 3, fol. 76—77; № 8, fol. 417—418; etc.]. Later on senior choiristers were given 0,5 — 2 rubles each, and all diaki of this or that court choir received 1,5—2,5 rubles [23, № 99, fol. 204; № 108, fol. 189; № 111, fol. 161; etc.].

The information about the salaries of the Tsar’s krestovye diaks in the 16th century can be found in the staff list of service class people of Ivan the Terrible’s court of 1573. Those singing diaki are specified before the tsar choir, but their salary merely consisted of annual monetary payments (from 4 to 25 rubles) and 1,44 rubles, the amount of money for “cloth” [3, p. 35].

In the 17th century the system of salaries of the tsar’s krestovye diaki was expanding. In the second half of the century this category of the court people exceeded the tsar’s chanters in the types and amounts of payments. 17 salaries to the amount of 2,5—32 rubles were established for krestovye diaki by 1680. Since 1681 monetary payments changed a little. Each court choir had own scale of 6—7 salaries from 5—10 rubles to 25—32 rubles. The highest amount of money was given to the choir heads — senior choiristers (26—50 rubles) [13, p. 437—441; 15, p. 5; 25, № 20191, fol. 1—4; № 20347, fol. 2—9; № 20950, fol. 5—15; 26, № 132, fol. 9—17, 74—91]. The second half of the 17th century signaled the formation of another type of salary, which was also paid with money, — kormovoye (for food products). In the 1680—90-s, when krestovye diaki started to form several court choirs and were practically equaled to the tsar’s singing diaki by rank, their kormovoye payments rose from 3—6 rubles to the level of the singing diaki’s salaries. Slavlenoe payment was given individually after the enlistment and was equal to 1—2 rubles [25, № 20191, fol. 2, 4; № 20347, fol. 20, 21; etc.]. Since the middle of the 1680-s, krestovye diaki, just like chanters, got patriarchal slavlenoe: senior choiristers — 0,25 or 1 ruble each, ordinary diaki — 1 or 1,5 rubles for all [23, № 122, fol. 167; № 127, fol. 184; etc.]. In honour of the tsar family Communion krestovye diaki twice a year, on the Great and Assumption Lents, were given 2 rubles of communion money, senior choir singers — 4 rubles each [25, № 20347, fol. 15—17, 25; № 20950, fol. 6].

The most important type of natural products payment was bread payment. Before the division of diaki into separate choirs, by the beginning of the 1680-s 10 salaries had been formed of equal amounts (from 3 to 16) of rye and oats quarters [15, p. 5]. Then for each choir they developed a specific scale of salaries, which underwent minor changes for ordinary diaki and determined the increased salaries of senior choir singers — to 25 quarters of rye and 25 quarters of oats [13, p. 437—441]. What exactly a daily meal payment was can be assumed by its detailed description of 1681¹.

¹ The payment included: wine and beer, “estva” (feeding), bread and pies [25, № 20191, fol. 3—4].

In Tsar Peter’s documents of the 1690-s there is no mentioning of this payment but in terms of money it must have been included into the unified food products payment.

The earliest (since 1613) and fullest information available testifies that krestovye diaki received sacramental cloth as a reward for taking part in the ceremony of the Tsar’s family Communion. Later in the 17th century this type of payment became essential with the established monetary value: the first diak, being senior choir singer, was given cloth in the value of 6 rubles, others — in the value of 3 rubles, and in the 1630-s they were given money. Since around 1657—1658 sacramental cloth payment was given out twice a year — on the Great and Assumption Lents [26, № 199, fol. 187; № 203, fol. 368—369; № 209, fol. 338; № 282, fol. 187; etc.]. Since 1634—35 by the tsar’s decree krestovye diaki were assigned annual cloth payments in the value of 5 rubles “like the tsar’s singing diaki of the major stanitsa” [26, № 92, fol. 130; № 94, fol. 185; № 309, fol. 59; etc.].

Having studied the consolidated “Ruzhnaya kniga” in 1699, Tsar Peter ordered to limit the amount of people in each krestovye diaki choir to 12 men and establish unified salaries with the cancellation of others ones (except for bread) starting from September of the same year: the first diak in the choir staff got 60 rubles, the following four — 40 rubles each, others — 30 rubles each [13, p. 438—441].

The professional activity of the singers belonging to the second, in order of importance, choir — the patriarchal choir, in many ways was remunerated similarly to the procedure of the court chanters’ maintenance. The available documents of the patriarchal treasury since 1626 demonstrate an extremely stable character of monetary payments for diaki (10—12 rubles) and variations of amounts of those salaries for podiaki (2—10 rubles) till the very end of the century [17, p. 24, tabl. 6].

Bread payments record dates back only to the second half of the 17th century, but one of the sources mentions that in February of 1627 all diaki and podiaki received “monetary bread payment” [23, № 1, fol. 412]. Books of charges of 1669—1671 testify that the patriarchal chanters were assigned bread payments: diaki of the 1st stanitsa — 25 quarters of rye and the same amount of oats, 2nd stanitsa — 20 quarters, podiaki of the 1st and 2nd stanitsas — 8 quarters each, “minor” ones — 7, 6 and 5 quarters [24, № 22, fol. 139—146, 335—342]. Since 1672, with the beginning of Pitirim’s patriarchate, the first two stanitsas of podiaki had their salaries increased to 10 quarters of rye and 10 quarters of oats, the others — by one quarter of each; the new, sixth stanitsa’s salaries were equal to 4 quarters of rye and the same amount of oats [24, № 29, fol. 83—90 etc.].

Books of charges of 1696—1698 recorded the pay-off “like giving in the past years” of payments with meat, and it appears from them, that till the middle of the 1690-s all “married” chanters were given the salary of 7 poods, and “single” — 5,5 poods of meat, then singers were given money up to the amount of 1,75 and 1,37 rubles respectively [24, № 78, fol. 31—37; № 83, fol. 8—13].

The documents of the second half of the 17th century had records of the expenses on daily meals and drinks (“estva”). The feeding of the “domovoi” (home) choir was taking place on service days in the Krestovaya palata or in the special “singing chamber”, drinks were also given “in the cellar”. Meals included: granular caviar, viziga, steamed fish (sterlets, breams, pikes), fish soup, shchi, porridges, pies, “segments” of sturgeon or great sturgeon, etc. Drinks included different sorts of mead and beer [12, p. 1112—1178; 24, № 140].

The patriarchal choir was regularly granted garments, which can be divided into three types. Garments for everyday life included: odnoriadka, kaftan, trousers, hat “with sable” and a fur coat. Singers were also given several surplices of “various colours” for divine services. For escorting the patriarch during his “trips” they were given a “traveling” garment — warm kaftan or feriazi and doloman [23, № 34, fol. 234, 241, 244; № 38, fol. 150, 552; № 60, fol. 180, 184—185; № 64, fol. 357, 360; etc.].

The sources do not mention any regular distribution of the annual amount of cloth to singing diaki and podiaki. Apparently, this type of payment was not established for them. But some early documents of the Tsar Treasury Department (since 1613) testify that for singing in liturgical drama “Peschnoe deystvo” (rite “Burning fiery furnace”) chanters were given “peschnoe” cloth to the amount of 2—2.5 rubles every year, or money to the amount of its value. After 1640—1641 there is no information about such cloth granting [26, № 199, fol. 196—197; № 207, fol. 224—226; № 277, fol. 132; etc.].

The amounts of “slavlenoe” were pretty stable during the entire 17th century. It was paid to the patriarchal singers in the following way: diaki got 2 rubles per stanitsa, podiaki of the 1st stanitsa — 0,5 rubles each (in the 1690-s — 1 ruble), 2nd stanitsa got 0,3 rubles (in the 1690-s — 0,5 rubles), the others — from 0,25 to 0,03 rubles per stanitsa [23, № 1, fol. 185; № 3, fol. 77; № 152, fol. 195; etc.]. Besides, by the end of the 17th century the patriarchal choir annually (by December, 25) received the “slavlenoe” sent by ruling bishops and those monasteries, which were included into a special “list” (earlier the money was given during the stay of bishops and monastery superiors in the capital). All in all there was a sum of 120 rubles sent from 16 eparchies, and about 175 rubles from 61 monasteries [5, fol. 1—32]¹.

Thus, the remuneration of Russian professional musicians’ work in the 16th—17th centuries presented a complex system of salaries and obligatory grants. Most of the payment rates (service land, monetary, cloth) in this or that combination were typical of those different categories that the service class people of the Russian state belonged to [e. g.: 4; 8].

The central choirs were staffed with the most musically talented people who came from various regions and different strata of society. According to the staff list of singing diaki of Ivan the Terrible dated by March, 20, 1573 the salary of two of them, Savluk Mihailov and Ivan Danilov, included 300 quarters of the “manor”.

¹ In 1689 a new “Sheet of slavlenye money” was worked out, providing for collection of money from 20 eparchies (94 rubles) and 69 monasteries (291 rubles) [5, fol. 2—7 об.].

Undoubtedly, those diaki were noble by birth. They, most likely, received the manors not for their service in the choir, where that kind of salary was not used. We do not see any reasons for them being specially rewarded with the manors as they were ordinary singers; one of them was registered under number four in the staff list of the 1st stanitsa, the other — the last in the 3rd stanitsa [3, p. 35—36]. Probably, krestovye diak (then senior choir singer) Andrei Konstantinov Vereshevsky owned the great land property and had great incomes, enriching his manors. He paid 240 roubles only for the acquisition of village Zhestylevo from a tsar’s groom in 1580, it had its own church “with all church buildings”, and wasteland Repekhovo [28, fol. 1]².

In the 17th century documents one can come across the references to the facts that owners of manors and peasants were included into the staff of singing and krestovye diaki. Matvey Ignatyev Polyaniyov, for example, used “to be a groom” of the tsar, a noble position, and served at first in the 4th, and afterwards — in the 3rd stanitsa of the tsar’s choir in the late 1670-s — first half of the 80-s, reserving the manors [20, p. 59; 25, № 17541, fol. 6; 26, № 332, fol. 150; № 554, fol. 135]. Since 1681 his son Ivan also began serving there and in 1684 was transferred to krestovye diaki of Trsaritsa Marfa [26, № 122, fol. 22; № 544, fol. 131; etc.]. Interestingly enough that Matvey Polyaniyov received fixed salaries, but in the annual salary staff lists it was never specified that he owned manors. It allows us to assume that among singing diaki he and his son were not the only nobles by birth³. Quite illustrative is the following fact. In 1699 Tsar Peter ordered his senior choir singer S.I. Suvorov, who was receiving the highest salaries of every type and who by that time had been serving in the court as a senior choir singer and krestovye diak for about 30 years, to take an “official confirmation” telling that he owned no “villages, stalls and other enterprises”. Suvorov appeared to be an adequate representative of “the new time” and owned not only 61 peasant households in “different towns of various regions”, but also several stalls in Moscow shopping rows, two cellars, selling “red drink”, and “commercial baths” [13, p. 435].

All this means that in the 16th—17th centuries taking noble men as singing diaki on serving was not occasional. *Their activity in the choir was considered as one of the types of state service.* When being fixed a salary, they reserved the right to their manors and peasants.

Quite frequently their singers’ children or relatives replenished tsar and patriarchal choirs. In 1648 the son of the tsar’s singing diak Ivan Nikiforov became a “young” diak of the tsar’s choir [25, № 3945, fol. 1—2]. In 1665 diak Ivan Sergeev Golutvinets began his service in the same choir, and in the beginning of the 1670-s his brother Vladimir was also recruited [25, № 13449, fol. 9—12; № 13573, fol. 8]. Among “elder” tsarevnas’ krestovye diaki there was Ivan Shusherin’s son Mikhail, to whom after his father’s death the higher

² Interestingly, in 1573 his salary was only 15 rubles and 1.44 rubles “for the cloth” [3, p. 36].

³ The singing diak Osip Golchin’s brother served in the regiments of the nobility and had an estate [1, p. 546]. Krestovye diak Jacob Korsakov’s brother had the high rank of tsar’s equerry [25, No. 19714, fol. 1].

salary was passed on [25, № 19108, fol. 6, 7]. After the death of krestovy diak Prokhor Nikitin, in 1680 his monetary salary was passed on to his son who replaced his father [25, № 20101, fol. 1—5; № 20347, fol. 9]. On August 17, 1682 “younger” tsarevna’s krestovy diak Ivan Bogdanov was rewarded with the annual amount of cloth of “his uncle”, deceased tsaritsa’s krestovy diak Erofey Bogdanov [26, № 332, fol. 144]. Podiakon Nikita Grigoriev’s son Andrey was admitted to the patriarchal choir as a podiak in 1687, and in 1691 his second son Peotr was admitted there as well [26, № 127, fol. 20; № 143, fol. 15; etc.]. There are a great number of such examples. By the social origin all singers, whose fathers also served as singing diaki and podiaki, can be considered as sons of families of service class people (this will be dwelt upon further in details).

An example of replenishment of central choirs by representatives of other categories of service class people is recruitment of chanters from local professional choirs. The hierarch’s singing diaki and podiaki usually accompanied the church hierarch in his trips to the capital, took part in solemn divine services and rites together with the tsar’s and the patriarchal singers, therefore the best of them became known to the tsar and the patriarch. Especially frequently the hierarch’s chanters were called to serve in the patriarchal choir. Thus, in the summer of 1655 podiak Ivan Shusherin, the future krestovy diak of “elder” tsarevna, the author of the famous biography of Patriarch Nikon, “was sent from Macarius, the Metropolitan of Novgorod” [23, № 38, fol. 162]. In March 1680 a podiak of the Arkhangel’sk archbishop Elisey Stepanov was admitted to the sixth stanitsa of podiaki; in February 1687 a podiak of Nizhny Novgorod metropolitan’s choir Peotr Fedorov was admitted to the same stanitsa; in March 1689 a podiak of Kazan’ metropolitan’s choir Gavriila Rodionov was admitted to the 1st stanitsa, and to the second stanitsa — a podiak of Holmogorsk bishop Semen Matveev; in 1695 podiak Andrey Prohorov was admitted to the patriarchal choir “from the home” of Tver archbishop, and “from the home” of Krutitsk metropolitan — Andrey Alekseev, etc. [23, № 99, fol. 19; № 122, fol. 15; № 129, fol. 13, 14; № 156, fol. 276, 280]. The sources have brought us numerous references.

Local singers also joined the Tsar’s choir, for example, Ivan Smagin “was taken from the archbishop” to the choir of Ivan the Terrible and in 1573 was listed as “bezstanichny” (not belonging to any stanitsa) diak, or Maksim Afanasiev Sibirets, who arrived in Moscow with his family in the beginning of the 1660-s and who had previously served in the choir of the Siberian archbishop [3, p. 37; 20, p. 75; 25, № 8387, fol. 1]. But not everyone was easily admitted to the choir. In August 1644 by the patriarch’s decree the podiak of Kazan metropolitan Kondrat Ivanov, “who was taken as a podiak to Moscow and went through an audition, failed it and was sent back to Kazan” [23, № 18, fol. 435].

Quite often the tsar’s and the patriarchal choirs recruited tradespeople. Here are the most striking examples. On February, 21, 1664 by the tsar’s deed a voyvode was ordered “to find” a tradesman Vasily Kalinin, give him a carriage and send him to Moscow “immediately”. In the capital Vasily, under the nickname Yaroslavtsev at first served as a tsar’s singing diak,

and then — a tsaritsa’s krestovy diak till the middle of the 1680-s [26, № 327, fol. 115; № 324, fol. 70; № 545, fol. 57; 31, v. 21, p. 1037]. In the 1690-s in the Moscow Kitai gorod, there was a yard of tradesman Dmitry Isaev, whose children served as podiaki [10, p. 25]. Unfortunately, the sources do not always contain direct evidence. There are exist numerous records about singers’ origin — they were from Novgorod, Rostov, Kazan, Suzdal, Pskov, Vologda, etc. [23, № 34, fol. 223; № 137, fol. 282; № 152, fol. 13; 24, № 43, fol. 96; 31, v. 23, p. 112, 190 etc.]. Tradespeople, undoubtedly, constituted some part of them.

Interestingly enough, some of the singers, who were taken on the staff from the “tiagletsy” (taxed people), remained being taxed. For example, in the 1670-s in Ordynskaya street behind the Moskva river a tsar’s singing diak Kipriyan Evtikheev together with his brother owned a yard on a taxed land of Sadovaya sloboda, which was passed on to them from their father, and every year paid 10—12 roubles of “obrok” (quitrent); in the same position was Peotr Pokrovets (future senior choir singer of Tsar Peter), to whom after his wedding a taxed land plot in Nikitskaya street in Ustyzhskaya sloboda was passed on [25, № 17440, fol. 3—4, 7—8]. In 1677—1678 Osip Sedoy was admitted to the tsar’s choir from the class of taxed people from Barashskaya sloboda after his chant collection book was purchased for the tsar’s choir [19, p. 120]. In this way, tradespeople, as well as taxed people, could also serve in the main choirs of Russia, though in the course of time their position underwent some changes. They purchased other lands or in other ways freed themselves from taxation.

Children of archpriests, priests, deacons and sacristans represented the clergy people in the choirs, as a rule. Thus, in the middle of 1650-s archpriest Pavel’s sons Mikhail and Martyn, later called Protopopovs (archpriests’ sons), became krestovye diaki of tsaritsa [25, № 8387, fol. 2]. In 1694 Peotr Efimov, the deacon’s son, whose father worked as a deacon “in the church of St. Cosmas and Damian behind the Yauza river in Kuznetskaya (sloboda)” became a podiak [23, № 156, fol. 265]. In 1697 the son of the deacon of the Church of St. Sergius the Miracle-Worker “on Dmitrovka” Ivan Ivanov, the deacon’s son, who also had a well-known nickname “Sniatok”, became a podiak [23, № 165, fol. 108]. As a rule the representatives of the clergy were given nicknames at the places of service: Klyucharevs (sacristan’s sons), Diakonovs (deacon’s sons), Popovs (priest’s sons), Protopopovs (archpriest’s sons). The names of singers with such last names can be frequently met in documents, even more frequently, than references to their social origin.

The given examples demonstrate that the service class people were employed for the tsar’s and the patriarchal choirs in a typical way: “by birth” (from noble families of Moscow and other cities) and “by order” (from tradespeople, the clergy, etc.) [8, p. 75—79 etc.; 33, p. 138, 144]. In general the position of the central Russian choirs’ singers in the 16th—17th centuries can be characterized as a privileged one. In the “Ulozhenie” (Old Code) of 1649 in special articles about the honour protection of different “ranks” this position was fixed and supported: “for bringing dishonor” to the tsar’s

singing diaki the guilty person had “to pay” the penalty at a rate of monetary salaries of the given singers; the patriarchal chanters got a little less: the diaki of the major stanitsa were given 7 roubles each, the diaki of the 2nd stanitsa and podiaki of the first two stanitsas — 5 roubles each, the other diaki — 3 roubles each [20, p. 47, 58—59]. Those singers, who owned manors and peasants, as it was already mentioned, reserved this right, having also the rights of nobility and those of the boyars' children.

According to the documents singing and krestovye diaki quite often owned “holops” (serfs). The tsar’s krestovyi diak A.K. Vereschevsky presented deacon Tomila Postnik’ father with his female holop Praskovia Ivanova, whom the deacon settled for marriage in 1598 [31, v. 15, p. 4]. In the each yards of the tsar’s chanters Ivan Ischein, Ivan Nikiforov and Roman Leontiev in 1638 a “bondman” lived, performing certain yard duties, including the defence of the town [30, p. 5, 22]. In the Pharmacist’s Departament in 1676 Ivan Aleev, a former holop (“bondman”) of singing diak Ivan Novgorodets, who got his freedom after his master’s death, worked as steward [31, v. 21, p. 217]. On April, 27, 1673 the tsar’s singing diak Semen Koscheev wrote in his petition, that his “serf man” Semeon Dmitriev with his wife Ekaterina and his son had escaped and became bondage people of a clerk of Malorossiya Prikaz (Ministry of the Malorossiya Affairs). The trial of the case became protracted, but as far as Semeon had lived at the chanter’s place for more than 4 years, in 1686 he was returned to the bond slavery of Koscheev [21, № 1264, fol. 1—4; № 3347, fol. 1—4]. In 1677 Holop’s Department was examining the case on enslavement of a taxed man from Moscow Novomeschanskaya sloboda G.G. Pschenishny by singing diak Vasily Evtihkiev [21, № 1677, fol. 15—18; № 1802, fol. 1—2]. The petty bourgeois Foma Mikhailov in 1685 prosecuted Yakov Borzakovsky for “the mutilation” of his daughter Ulyana, who had been given to that singer’s house by “zhilaya zapis’ ” (obligation, under which a person was given for service) [21, № 2995, fol. 175—192].

Law allowed keeping holops in houses of singing diaki. On October, 8, 1685 an Order was issued, telling “to give bondages to senior choir singers, singers and krestovye diaki on those who file a petition to become a holop” [18, p. 688]. Most probably, the same rules were applied for the patriarchal singers as well. In 1695 in the majority of their yards there were people (some of them, apparently, enslaved) who lived “with poruchnye zapisi” (written debt guarantees) [10, p. 9—10 etc.].

If we compare the position of the tsar’s singers with the position of the patriarchal singers, we can easily assume that the first ones had advantages over the others, and not only the legal ones. The tsar’s diaki had a greater variety of payments and higher salaries. On those occasions, when both choirs had to sing together, the tsar’s singers took more honourable places (for example, in the cathedral it was the right kliros), than the patriarchal ones. It was conditioned by the Middle Ages etiquette that pointed at the difference in their social positions.

It is quite difficult to identify the social status of the main choirs’ singers when the formation of the main classes in Russia was still in progress. As far as chanters had to sing, in the first place, in cathedrals, they all

went through a special admission ceremony. But that did not mean, that they were referred to the clergy [for example: 11, p.15 etc.]. Most probably, different categories of singers (the tsar’s singing diaki, court krestovye diaki, the patriarchal singing diaki, podiaki) had some differences in the social status.

D.V. Razumovsky noted, that as for “the civil rights”, the tsar’s singing diaki enjoyed all rights and advantages of people, serving in the Tsar’s court, they “belonged to the rank of court people” [20, p. 58]. Indeed, in the staff lists for salary of the 16th—17th centuries singers were registered “among various ranks of people” of the tsar’s court. In the Staff List of 1573, for instance, they were registered after boyars, stokers, guards, carpenters, etc.; after them there were tailors, shoemakers, fur dressers, armourers, etc. [3, p. 21—40]. Consolidated State Budget of 1680—1681 of salaries “for various ranks of people in Moscow and in different towns” begins with expenses of the Bolshoy Dvoretz (the Great Palace) Prikaz. In that department data on expenses on the court choir diaki were concentrated, and the data were written before expenses on podiaki, court guards, etc. [15, p. 5—6]. Till the end of the 17th century payment of salaries to the tsar’s singers were registered in “salary sheets” and other books with expenses on other serving people. The growing specialization of the state machinery was creating specific functions for different categories of service class people. The service was getting more and more fixed and looked like the performance of direct professional functions — “work”. In 1684 Pavel Yukhnovsky wrote in his petition to Tsars Peter and Ivan: “I, holop of yours, work as a chanter without salary”; in 1690 Ilya Leontiev said, that he “has been working” without being paid with cloth “for many years” [29, fol. 96, 102]. In such a way, following the above mentioned facts, as well as all considered information in aggregate (professional activity, principles of staffing, system of salaries, legal position), we may conclude, that the tsar’s singing diaki were part of the court high-society class of serving people.

The majority of the patriarchal diaki, before achieving their social position, for some time served in podiak stanitsas. And podiaki, due to the fact, that they sang and performed different actions in different parts of cathedrals, including the sanctuary, had to go through a complex, elaborately worked out ceremony of admission held by the patriarch himself¹. At the cathedral services podiaki, as a rule, sang in surplices. But, basing on the documents, we have already mentioned, that the casual garments of singers consisted of odnoryadka, kaftan, hat with zibeline, etc. Researchers, on the basis of the sources, mention those singers among the ranks of the patriarchal court — okolnichy (one of the highest ranks of boyars), solicitors, boyars’ children, etc. [e. g.: 32, p. 156]. If we take all these facts into consideration, as well as the factors, which we have already mentioned while dwelling upon the tsar’s choir diaki, the patriarchal singers, apparently, can be identified as a special category of “semi-high-society” serving people, who took some intermediate position between the clergy and the service class people of the patriarchal court.

¹ The rite for the introduced to the rank of a podiak is preserved in the manuscript of the middle of 17th centuries [7, fol. 157—159].



Russian service class people. Painted European engraving of the 16th century

And the *podiaiki* remained much closer to the clergy, than the *diaki*.

Perhaps, the court *krestovye diaki* also had the social position similar to the patriarchal singers' one. With the change of their professional functions in the second half of the 17th century, by the actual blending of the latter with the professional functions of the tsar's singing *diaki*, *krestovye diaki* were practically equaled to the tsar's singers in their social status.

The transferring of singers from one choir to the other is one more evidence of the general similarity of the class and service position of the main choirs' singers. In March 1632 *diak Pervy Yuriev* was transferred from the tsar's to the patriarchal choir, and since September 1636 he began serving in the tsar's choir again [25, № 2992, fol. 324; № 287, fol. 238]. *Podiaiki* also became the tsar's chanters, like, for example, *Vasily Matveev* (1683), *Mikhail Kolmogorets* (1690) and others [23 № 111, fol. 15; № 137, fol. 13].

The conclusion that the main Russian choirs' singers of the 16th—17th centuries were referred to or close to the category of the high-society service class people can be confirmed by the fact that when leaving the choirs, the singers often took (or were transferred to) such positions or ranks of the state machinery, as *dumnye* (*duma*) and departmental *diaki*, minor *diaki*, *boyars'* children, etc. Thus, on October, 23, 1640 patriarchal singing *diak Leontiy Mikhailov* was ordered to be “among *boyars'* children” of the patriarchal court [12, p. 1191]; in 1682 *krestovyy diak Kirill Semenov* was ennobled “on the Moscow list”, and the tsar's choir senior singer *Pavel Ostafiev* was transferred to *duma diaki* [25, № 52584, fol. 1; 26, № 124, fol. 30], *krestovyy diak Zosima Alekseev* from the choir of *Tsaritsa Evdokia* “and her sisters” in 1689 was transferred to “*pod'yachy*” at the Pharmacy Department [26, № 132, fol. 10]¹.

So, we have obtained data make it possible to clarify the social status of church singing art masters. Researchers attributed them to the category of clergy. But

¹ Of course, as well as representatives of other segments of the population, the tsar's and patriarchal singers joined the clergy also [23, № 12, л. 350].

most types of their salaries (manor, monetary payments and natural products payments) in this or that combination were typical of those different categories that the service class people of the Russian state in the 16th — 17th centuries belonged to. With the entry (transition) of even representatives of nobility into singing *diaki* their position did not change. Their activities in the choir were considered as one of the types of state service, and when they were assigned salaries, their estates and peasants were preserved. Consequently, the entire set of the most important social characteristics of this group of people (professional activity, principles of recruitment, salary system, legal status) indicates that the tsar's and patriarchal singers of the court choirs were included in the category of service class people.

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ПЕВЧИЕ ГЛАВНЫХ ХОРОВ РОССИЙСКОГО ГОСУДАРСТВА XVI—XVII вв. КАК СЛУЖИЛЫЕ ЛЮДИ ГОСУДАРЕВА И ПАТРИАРШЕГО ДВОРОВ

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В Москве XVI—XVII вв. существовало два мощных, тесно связанных между собой центра профессионально-музыкального искусства, объединявших лучшие творческие силы страны, — хор при Государевом дворе и хор при дворе Митрополита (с 1589 г. — Патриарха) Московского и всея Руси. Эти центры аккумулировали традиции «московского пения», сами являясь активными творцами этих традиций. По мнению автора, вся совокупность рассмотренных данных (деятельность, принципы комплектования, виды жалования и система окладов, правовое положение), свидетельствуют, что государевы и патриаршские певчие входили в категорию придворных служилых людей. Выбывая из хоров, они часто поступали (переводились) на такие должности или чины в государственном аппарате, как думные и приказные дьяки, подьячие, дети боярские и т. д. Полученные данные позволяют уточнить социальный статус мастеров, которых нередко исследователи относят к категории духовенства.

Ключевые слова: государевы певчие дьяки, патриаршские певчие, придворные служилые люди.

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ОБРАЗЕЦ ЦИТИРОВАНИЯ

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